

lscvlay

CONCEPTION ABBEY AND SEMINARY LIBRARY
322.4 B636 c1a1
Blake, Aldrich/The Ku Klux kraze, a lect
3 7200 00051 9234

THE KU KLUX KRAZE

A TRIP THROUGH THE KLAVERN



A Lecture by Aldrich Blake of Oklahoma City, together with parts of the sworn testimony taken by the Military Tribunal at Tulsa, and excerpts from Secret Klan Documents, including the Klan Constitution. The case against the Klan presented by one of its foremost opponents in America.

THE KU KLUX KRAZE

A
LECTURE
by
ALDRICH BLAKE
of
Oklahoma City

"There is but one attitude to assume toward the Ku Klux Klan—the attitude of reason and tolerance. Klansmen themselves are completely deceived as to their own organization and its philosophy. They are lost in a thick mist of propaganda. . . . They must be made to 'Stop, Look, Listen—and Think.' . . . It is they—not we—who need enlightenment and understanding as to the real spirit of America."

A startling analysis of the Ku Klux Klan philosophy that will make you think. Some new aspects of the Klan struggle in Oklahoma. The case against the Invisible Empire presented by one of the foremost opponents of the Klan in America.

Copyright, 1924.
By ALDRICH BLAKE
Oklahoma City,
Okla.



850692

The Ku Klux Kraze

An Address Delivered by Aldrich Blake.

FOREWORD.

Aldrich Blake first sprang into national prominence as executive counselor during the administration of former Governor J. C. Walton of Oklahoma. His "Story of Tulsa" was the opening gun in the Klan War at Tulsa and was widely published in the press. Despite the fact that a grand jury and a Klan legislature minutely examined his official acts, not a charge could be brought, and Mr. Blake re-entered private life without a blemish on his character. He is now president of the Visible Government League of Oklahoma, an amalgamation of the various anti-Klan organizations. A character sketch of Governor Walton written by him for the New York Nation was republished in full by the Literary Digest. No one in America has fought the Klan longer or more fearlessly and few have had the opportunities to study the Ku Klux Klan that he has. His lecture, "The Ku Klux Kraze," has done much to mould public opinion in Oklahoma and elsewhere. Mr. Blake and all the members of his family are Protestant, Gentile, American born, white citizens.

Supplementing his lecture, Mr. Blake offers the reader, under the caption, "A Trip Through the Klavern," some valuable data gathered from secret Klan documents and from sworn testimony taken by the military tribunals in Oklahoma.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I do not come here tonight with a firebrand or a sword. I come armed with a message of peace.

For ten years the world has been surfeited with hatred, bitterness and strife, and we who oppose the Ku Klux Klan believe the first duty of every citizen is to do all in his power to restore the harmony, good-will and good nature that once were the proud boast of the American people.

Nor have I a single word of abuse for any member of the Ku Klux Klan. I believe that the rank and file of that organization is sincere. Men can be wrong—even half crazy—and still be sincere, and I refuse to admit that any great body of my fellow citizens is aught but honest in its opinions.

There is but one attitude to assume toward the Ku Klux Klan—the attitude of reason and tolerance. In speaking the truth, let us be charitable. Klansmen themselves are completely deceived as to their own organization and its philosophy. They are lost in a thick mist of propaganda, and in most cases unconscious of wrong doing. They know not from whence this mysterious empire came nor where it is taking them. They must be made to "Stop, Look, Listen—and Think." That is why my message tonight is intended especially for the Klan. It is they—not we—who need enlightenment and understanding as to the real spirit of America.

About four years ago, the Ku Klux Klan stole silently into Oklahoma. Scarcely anyone was aware of its arrival. Six months later it had developed the velocity of a hurricane and the madness of a maniac. By the spring of 1921, no man's business, no man's employment, no man's life was safe unless he belonged to the Invisible Empire. Social moorings, which had withstood the strain of war, suddenly snapped, and in a short time Oklahoma was a land of broken friendships and broken hearts—a vast field of social chaos lighted only by the glare of the fiery cross. The wounds are still fresh; the sores are still open; not until the new generation matures will Oklahoma fully recover from her orgy.

It will require a decade to repair the moral damage inflicted alone by the Klan policy of deception, a fact indelibly impressed upon my mind at the first hearings of the military tribunal at Tulsa. A witness is sworn; the examination begins:

"Do you belong to the Klan?"

"No, sir."

"Have you ever belonged?"



"No, sir."

"Have you ever paid any dues to the Ku Klux Klan or been in the Klan hall?"

"No, sir."

"Have you ever seen one of these?"

"No, sir," is the answer as the witness examines a Klan membership card.

"Officer, search the witness!"

Not once, but several times in the early stages of the investigation, a Klan card was extracted from the witness' pocket by an attache of the court. Soon, for some reason, Klansmen left their cards at home—so that they could commit perjury with less danger of detection, is the only possible conclusion.

The effect upon civic standards of teaching thousands to make mendacity a virtue, I leave to the conjecture of those Christian ministers who have mistaken the fiery cross for "the cross of Him who died on the crest of a Syrian hill for the salvation of the race."

The Klan program revolves around four propositions: Law and Order; One Church, the Protestant; Patriotism, and White Supremacy. Obviously, there is a powerful appeal to the instinct of the average American in such a program. This nation is overwhelmingly for law and order, it is overwhelmingly non-Catholic, overwhelmingly for the flag and overwhelmingly white. Especially is this true in states like Oklahoma and Indiana, where the Klan strength has been greatest and where the most relentless warfare has been waged against the minority groups.

Less than eight percent of the population of Oklahoma is negro; two percent is Catholic; less than one-half of one percent is foreign born, and less than one half of one per cent is Jewish, so that in Oklahoma the four minority groups comprise only about eleven percent of the population. In Indiana the figures are not very different. Less than three per cent of the population is negro; less than ten per cent is Catholic; only six percent is foreign born, and not to exceed one percent is Jewish. In short, the same groups embrace less than twenty percent of the people of Indiana according to the 1920 census, and could not be, so far as numbers are concerned, a serious menace. Therefore we must look elsewhere for the cause that first gave the Klan its impetus.

That impetus came as a direct result of the sudden termination of the World War. As we look back upon the gloomy picture we cannot fail to be astounded by our actions. There was, for instance, the strong temptation to peek through your neighbor's window. We suspected

our best friends. Spying and snooping became popular vocations, especially among many members of the Councils of Defense. Amateur detectives sprouted like young onions in a spring garden and now and then we grew so patriotic that someone was taken out and whipped and given a coat of tar and feathers. It was the day of the busybodies.

The end of the war left the busybody out of a job, and the Ku Klux Klan merely re-employed him. He has been engaged ever since. The busybody is the great plague in Oklahoma—worse even than the boll weevil. Just now, according to the latest announcement in the Oklahoma press, the Klan busybody is merrily engaged in taking the license numbers of automobiles parked along the roadside. He is determined to find out who the lover is that "loves not wisely but too well."

Now there is bound to be something repulsive to the average American in a government by busybodies, described by Carlyle as the "worst of all forms of government." To be governed by a single tyrant is unthinkable in a Republic, but to be constantly irritated by a million little tyrants is simply unendurable. Moreover, a government by busybodies is a dangerous threat to democratic institutions. "It is worse than Prussianism," one writer said in the Atlantic Monthly, "because that is one form of government at least; and worse than Socialism, because Socialism would be run by law anyway. But government by busybodies has neither head nor tail; working outside the law, it becomes lawless, and having no law to support it, it finally depends for its enforcement upon hoodlums and mob rule."

Such is the exact effect of a government by Klan busybodies in Oklahoma.

But something else happened at the conclusion of the war directly related to the growth of the Ku Klux Klan. The United States was plunged into an economic depression. We had made a vast funeral pyre of the world's wealth and now we were called upon to restore it. Our soldiers began coming home by the hundreds of thousands. No; they did not get their old jobs—they joined the army of the unemployed in the great cities of our land.

And, as always happens when men are out of work, a crime wave swept over the country, in part because of these economic conditions, in part because of the inevitable heritage of war's lust and fatalism.

In Tulsa, it is said that the first 250 men who joined the Klan were all business men of character who went into the organization to combat the criminal and make life and property more secure. But naturally the paid organizer—the Klan Kleagle—found that the number of people who would pay ten dollars for the privilege of catching a highwayman was somewhat limited, and to help business he was obliged to invent a

new psychology. His first appeal was to the busybodies and they came in swarms. Next he began to whisper about the Catholic and actually convinced a large number of people that the Pope was about to move into the White House. To the man who disliked the Jew and the foreigner, he suggested that by paying ten dollars it would be easier to hate both. Boldly he raised the banner of American womanhood, waved Old Glory and behold!—the one hundred percenters fell in line.

He had but to mention the "menace" of the negro and yellow man to rally thousands around the banner of white supremacy. The business man was an easy prey. Just join the Klan and business would boom. And finally even the politician, the best bird dog of them all, sniffed the atmosphere, saw a chance to flush his game, placed his ten dollars upon the counter—and got the votes.

But even this was not all. Spectacular demonstrations and initiations were arranged to arouse the curiosity of the masses. Hoods and gowns and giant fiery crosses lent an air of mystery to the whole grotesque performance and thousands sent in their checks just to find out what in the world the whole thing was about!

And when they got in, they found they couldn't get out. The Klan leaders knew the value of discipline, and ruled with an iron hand. Even today, thousands of Klansmen, sick of the whole miserable mess, nevertheless are afraid to defy the cyclops by sending in their resignations.

The Ku Klux Klan is a monument to the organizing genius of the Imperial Wizard and as we shall see, is an extraordinary demonstration of what can be achieved through skillful directing of psychological processes.

I have heard a great many people say that while they do not belong to the Klan, still they "sympathize with much that the Klan teaches," meaning that they believe in law and order, one church, the Protestant, patriotism and white supremacy. This is a fair challenge and one that must be accepted by those who oppose the Invisible Empire. Is the Klan philosophy sound or unsound, practical or impractical, good or bad, right or wrong?

Not many months ago I heard the Klan champion in the Oklahoma senate make his defense of the hooded order. In a brilliant peroration he concluded with a loud boast that "the Klan had cleaned up Tulsa, that it had run the bootleggers and scarlet women out of town."

The people in the galleries applauded—especially the ladies. But there were some who sat there in silence, undoubtedly wondering whether those bootleggers and scarlet women disappeared into the air or into the bowels of the earth, or whether they left Tulsa and came

to Oklahoma City. For all I know, perhaps some of them descended on Indiana.

The truth is the Klan busybody has been busy scattering bootleggers and prostitutes all over the country. While the Tulsa Klan was chasing Tulsa's undesirables to Oklahoma City, the Oklahoma City Klan was chasing Oklahoma City's undesirables to Tulsa. Someone even had the cruelty to suggest that the Ku Klux Klan ought to change its name and call itself the "Bootleggers Exchange!"

Certainly the silly policy of scattering bootleggers and prostitutes everywhere has not aided real law enforcement. On the other hand, has it not actually hindered law enforcement and made it more expensive? The bootlegger and prostitute are familiar characters to the local police. At home they can break the law only at great risk, but when driven into some new community, where they are not known to the authorities, does it not require more officers, more time, more money to apprehend them and enforce the law? Among my friends in Oklahoma, I have some who like a good drink and they asked me to deliver a message to the Indiana Klan. My friends asked me to say that in Oklahoma they know their own bootleggers and the kind of liquor they make, and they don't want the Indiana Klan to send any strange bootleggers and strange liquor to the southwest!

I once witnessed a Klan parade in which there were several hundred men wearing hoods and gowns, many of them carrying banners with such slogans as "Bootleggers Beware," "Scarlet Women Get Out." I wasted no pity on the bootlegger for he is a man, well able to take care of himself, but I was shocked to think that an organization, which boasts of its respect for American womanhood, would so brazenly advertize the shame of the nation's womanhood. And as these hooded figures marched by, I wondered what my thoughts would have been, if, through force of circumstances, my little girl had one day gone wrong, and they had been advertising her degradation.

The scarlet woman! What has society done for her? I'll tell you what it has done. For forty centuries it has driven her from the brothel into the streets and from the streets into the brothel—an endless cycle as old as mankind itself, the supreme tragedy of the human race.

The Ku Klux Klan has not thought upon the questions of law and order and of crime. These are fundamental economic problems, which cannot be solved by spectacular parades, slogans or fancy discourses upon morals.

Tenements and rented lands are the real enemies of law and order, the partners of crime. As long as children are born in tenements and

gutters, we shall have bootleggers and scarlet women and our prisons will be full. If the Ku Klux Klan wants to end crime, let the Invisible Empire find a way to provide our people with better homes and more food. The better the homes and the more plentiful the food, the more patriotism, the more virtue, the more security for life and property.

Law and order—is that what the Klan stands for? I hold in my hand a number of photographic copies of letters sent by the Ku Klux Klan to citizens of Oklahoma. They are on the official letterhead of the Klan and each has the seal of the order attached. Several thousand similar communications of a threatening character were received by the people of my state, and every one of them was a violation of the laws of Oklahoma and the laws of the United States of America. But I shall not dwell tonight upon the story of mob violence. It is too harrowing a tale. In fact, you would not believe it, were I to tell you. It would be hard for anyone living in the twentieth century to believe that such things could happen. I talked personally with many of the victims; I examined their bodies. I saw with my own eyes the deep gashes, the raw flesh, the fiery cross carved upon the breast. In some places in Tulsa county, men went to the scene of torture as coolly as they would attend a game of ball. As many as one hundred and fifty citizens sometimes attended the barbarous festivities, while officers, sworn to uphold the law, applied the lash.

The callous indifference of officialdom and the actual applause of thousands of citizens, who saw in the Klan Terror a benefit to society, really is of more significance than the suffering of the victims themselves. There was the case of J. L. Barnes, of Coalgate, for instance. Barnes, a respectable citizen, was taken out and brutally flogged by twelve men in the full regalia of the Ku Klux Klan. He appealed in vain to the local authorities for redress. Their answer was a polite suggestion that if he did not leave the State he might be killed, and Barnes fled to Texas. He did not return until after the declaration of martial law, when he made a sworn statement in the governor's office identifying six of his twelve assailants. Two weeks later Barnes was dead, as a direct result of the inhuman punishment he had received. Twelve murderers are still at large in Coalgate and many people do not even care! There is today in Oklahoma a large body of opinion that urges silence; that believes the best policy is to let the Klan die a "natural death." That the most barbaric tortures were inflicted on their fellow citizens; that thousands suffered persecution, ostracism and humiliation; that the law-enforcing agencies have not only failed to do their duty, but have actually winked at the bloody spectacle, often aiding and abetting the crime, does not matter to the "neutral." To

attempt to right these terrible wrongs; to assert the majesty of the law; to redeem Oklahoma from her shame, might hurt business, and that is a little whipping party, anyway, when business is at stake!

Is the Klan guilty or not guilty? Except in isolated cases mob violence was unknown in Oklahoma until the Klan was organized. Mob violence and the fiery cross came to Oklahoma hand in hand, like the lover and his maid, and they continued their honeymoon until the very hour of martial law. Since that historic moment not a single act of mob violence has been recorded, and not a single citizen of Oklahoma has received a threatening communication. Can the Ku Klux Klan escape responsibility for the bloodiest, most inhuman and most inexcusable Terror in modern history?

Long and extensive operations may be carried on for years by crowds, whose members repeatedly declare that such things are not being done. The Klan may deny; it cannot convince. In Oklahoma the evidence is clear. Except in a few instances, all of the sworn testimony led straight to the doorstep of some ring within the Klan. At least a thousand whippings, including many mutilations in less than two years, all between the time the Klan was first organized and the declaration of martial law—would any jury on earth acquit the Invisible Empire if presented with such testimony?

Of course excuses were offered. Most of the victims were dope peddlers and bootleggers. But that only augments the crime. Governments are not created for the rich and the strong; they are created for the weak and the poor, for the protection first of those lowest down in the social scale. The humbler the citizen, the greater is society's duty to guarantee him the full protection of the law, and he who does not understand this has not yet learned the spirit of the American Republic. One church, the Protestant! Has the Ku Klux Klan really thought upon the question of religion? Is it really aiding the Protestant church? Does it really stand for religious freedom?

There are 570 million Christians in the world of whom 400 millions are Catholic, and only 170 million Protestant. Of the Christian populations of the various areas, we find that Europe is 76 per cent Catholic; Asia is 77 per cent Catholic; Africa is 67 per cent Catholic; Oceania is 65 per cent Catholic, and South America is 99 per cent Catholic. In North America alone the Protestants are in the majority, the ratio being 64 Protestants (if we call all those Protestant, who are not Catholics) to 36 Catholics.

In Oklahoma and Indiana where Protestants outnumber Catholics by more than ten to one, it is safe to persecute the latter, but has the Klan ever considered what might happen, if, in South America, for in-

stance, the Catholics retaliated by persecuting Protestants? A few centuries ago, Protestants did persecute Catholics and Catholics did persecute Protestants and the world became an ocean of blood and of tears. Shall we of the twentieth century renew the religious warfare of a bygone age?

A few years ago, many of the Klansmen went across the sea—to fight for whom? To fight for little Belgium, an overwhelmingly Catholic country; to fight for France, an overwhelmingly Catholic country; to fight for Italy, an overwhelmingly Catholic country; to fight against whom? Germany—the only predominantly Protestant nation of Continental Europe.

I merely mention this to illustrate how utterly inconsistent the Klan position is, and how little they have thought upon religion as a world problem. On the battlefield of Europe it was Catholic against Catholic; Protestant against Protestant. It has been so for centuries; it will continue to be so until the Christian world has the virtue and good sense to settle down to peace.

But there is something else the Klan has overlooked. There are twice as many non-Christians in the world as there are Catholics and Protestants combined, and after two thousand years of crusading, Christianity has not made a dent upon the Orient. What is there, indeed, to commend Christianity to the philosophical easterner, who sees Christian people always at one another's throats? Numerically, the Protestant world is very small. There are almost as many Buddhists and Animists in the world as there are Protestants; there are forty million more Hindus, fifty million more Mohammedans and 130 million more Confucionists and Taoists. As I stand upon this platform tonight, nine-tenths of the world disagrees with me about my Protestant faith. Now I may be ever so strong in that faith, but I don't propose to make a fool of myself and I don't believe the Ku Klux Klan can ram the Protestant church down the throats of nine-tenths of the people of mankind. To make the Protestant church the champion of religious bigotry, and to attempt to force its creed upon the rest of the whole world, is merely to invite destruction. It would succeed better by any other method than force.

Perhaps I have a peculiar idea about religion, anyway. I believe the Great Spirit of the Indian was merely our God, that his Happy Hunting Ground was our heaven. And if God Almighty only made one Heaven, surely it is not exclusively reserved for members of the Ku Klux Klan! Confidentially, when I get up there, I expect to wear wings and not any nightshirt at three dollars a yard!

Members of the Ku Klux Klan are taught to believe that the Cath-

olic church is a menace. Conceding for the sake of argument that it is, what then? Is the Klan destroying the Catholic Church? Not in Oklahoma, at least. In Oklahoma, the Klan is uniting the Catholic Church and destroying the Protestant church. Dozens of little Protestant churches either have closed their doors or are running on half time. Why? Because the Klan members won't employ an anti-Klan preacher and the antis won't employ a Klan preacher! Everywhere you find the sewing clubs, the missionary societies, the congregations of Protestant churches split asunder. So complete is the disaster that we are beginning to hear people half-seriously say that the Pope secretly organized the Ku Klux Klan in order to destroy the Protestant church.

Not long ago I read the constitutions of three new Republics—China, Czechoslovakia and Germany—one a Pagan nation, one a Catholic nation and one a Protestant nation, and all three of these constitutions, written in the twentieth century, provide for absolute separation of church and state and complete religious freedom. If there is a nation in the world today, be it Pagan, Catholic or Protestant, whose fundamental law is any different, except on paper, I do not know of it, and why the Ku Klux Klan should get up a big scare about union of church and state, just when the whole rest of the world has decided against it is more than I know unless it was an easy way to get ten dollars.

If the Catholic Church is going to get control of our government it will have to hurry up. Based on last reports, it was running a poor race. Proportionately entitled to 77 congressmen, it has only 35; entitled to 17 United States Senators, it has only 6; and we have never had a Catholic president. We had one president who was not a Protestant, neither was he a Catholic. He professed no creed at all, though admitting a belief in a Supreme Being. That particular president happened to be Thomas Jefferson, the great genius of American Democracy. The Ku Klux Klan seems to imagine that this government was founded upon the Protestant church. It was not even founded upon Christianity. The fathers of '76 retired every religious creed when they left religion out of the constitution, and no Klansman nor other citizen has a right to inject the Bible or religion into any institution supported by public taxation. Such was the promise of '76 and I say, let's keep that promise!

Catholics, like Protestants, have contributed their share to civil liberty. It was the Catholic barons of England, who at Runnymede, 300 years before the birth of the Protestant church, wrung from King John the sacred Magna Charta. With the exception of America and China, and one or two others, every Republic in the world at the time the Great War broke out, was Catholic in faith. There is a beautiful statue in

New York Harbor. It is known as the Statue of Liberty. Countless millions have felt the first thrill of American grandeur as they passed under its silent spell. The money for that statue was raised in Catholic France, and the country of Lafayette and Foch presented it to America.

In Arlington Cemetery at Washington, a soldier is buried. He is called the Unknown Soldier. The whole nation mourned while a Jewish Rabbi, a Catholic priest and a Protestant minister uttered the last prayer over the dead. When the Imperial Wizard and his fellow Klansmen gather at the grave of this unknown hero and silently bow their heads, I wonder if they will ask themselves whether this boy was Catholic, Jew or Protestant, white or black, adopted or native born? So far as we who oppose the Klan are concerned, we do not care. We lift our hats and bow our heads because the Unknown Soldier was an American, who gave his last full measure of devotion for every citizen of this republic.

After all, religion is largely the accident of birth. It is upon our mother's knee that we become Catholics, or Methodists, or Baptists, or Jews. I cannot believe that even a Klansman would recognize religious distinctions in the Democracy of Death; then why recognize them in the Democracy of Life? The claim of the Ku Klux Klan that it stands for religious freedom is an empty pretence. Any pretence to religious liberty that leads men to discriminate against Catholics and Jews simply because they are Catholics and Jews is a gigantic fraud.

Patriotism! I do not believe in the loud and noisy patriotism of the Klan. I do not believe in the kind of patriotism that gushes out of the mouth. I believe in the patriotism that lies still in the human heart.

I have never known a one hundred percent American. I have known many three percenters, and a few one-half of one percenters. My conception of a one hundred percent American is a one hundred percent Christian; and the world has had only one one hundred percent Christian, and He was crucified upon the cross and happened to be a Jew.

There used to be a great many one hundred percent American signs in the store windows of Oklahoma merchants. There are not so many of these signs as there were. I fear our Klan merchants are losing their patriotism—either that or they found that too much patriotism doesn't pay. I have sometimes wondered whether those signs were originally placed in the windows altogether out of respect for Old Glory or whether Klansmen thought these signs would help business just a little.

The Klan hasn't thought any more upon the question of the boycott than it has thought upon religion or upon the problem of the bootlegger. If it is logical to put one Catholic and one Jew and one for-

eigner out of business, is it not logical to put them all out of business? But if we put them all out of business, we would break every bank, stop every railroad wheel and plunge this nation into universal ruin! What would become of all these Catholics and Jews and foreigners? Probably the Klansman imagines that like the bootlegger, they would disappear into the air or into the bowels of the earth. Has it ever occurred to the Klan that when a Catholic is put out of business, somewhere in the commercial chain, a Protestant creditor is injured? I remember a frail little woman who came up to me after one of my speeches. She said she was a Methodist, and with tears in her eyes she related how she had rented her store to a Greek, and how he had been forced into bankruptcy by the Klan boycott. The Klan had deprived her of her only source of income and she had become the object of the charity of friends. Is this how the Klan protects American womanhood?

Just how the Klan expects to promote patriotism by the use of the boycott is a poser. Do they imagine that by destroying the merchants on one side of the street they can promote prosperity and patriotism on the other? The boycott has desolated whole sections of Oklahoma. Started by the Klansman with his 100 percent American sign and secret pledge, it was finally resorted to by the anti-Klan in self-defense, and between the two boycotts many of Oklahoma's cities and towns have been laid waste as if struck by a twister. Sadder still, this upset and dislocation of business came at the very moment when good feeling, co-operation and stability were more needed than at any time for a quarter of a century. In the later stages, it has been the Klansman himself who has suffered most. Lashed into fury by the injustices of the Klan, the farmer and worker substituted a boycott of their own for the Klan boycott and used it, especially in small towns, with the most withering effect. No wonder the Klan 100 percent signs are disappearing and Klansmen aren't as patriotic as they were!

But, says our Klansman, to be truly patriotic, we must hurt the foreigner. Now it so happens that there are more than 13 million foreign born in the United States, and ten million of them live east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio rivers. One hundred and fifty thousand of them live here in Indiana. What does the Klan propose to do about it? Would the Klan deport all the foreign born? All the ships in the world would not make this possible. Besides, who would take the places of these millions? Is it the Klan purpose to shut down every manufacturing center in America? Perhaps the Klan expects the foreigner to follow the bootlegger into the air or into the bowels of the earth!

Why not use a little sense? There is only one thing we can do with

the foreigner—Americanize him, and assimilate him as rapidly as possible. Does the Klan expect to Americanize the foreigner by slapping him in the face? Does the Klan expect the foreigner to respect the flag if the flag is used to put him, the foreign born, out of business.

In the one hundred years ending in 1920, thirty-two million foreign born landed on American shores. To an overwhelming degree, these people are the ancestors of the American of today. To cast aspersions upon the foreign born, merely because he is foreign born, is to reflect upon all our ancestors, unless we happen to be full blood Indians. I know a good many Klansmen, whose fathers were born across the sea, and who, if alive, would be ineligible for membership in an organization belonging to their own sons.

The Klan talks about regulating immigration. Does the Klan understand race eugenics? In his *Decline and Fall of Rome*, Gibbon declares that the "narrow policy of preserving, without any foreign mixture, the pure blood of the ancient citizens, checked the fortune and hastened the ruin of Athens and Sparta." It cannot be denied that the infusion of too much foreign blood from the conquered provinces, accelerated the fall of Rome. The danger, then, is from both sides. Too little mixture of the blood of different peoples may cause racial sterility; too great a mixture, or the wrong mixture, may produce racial anemia. Does it require a hood and gown and secret signs to solve a profound scientific problem of this kind? That there ought to be a careful regulation of immigration, the people of all races will admit, but shall we leave this to the student of race eugenics or to goblins and cyclops and titans and wizards?

There are really some good things to be said for the foreigner. Most of Washington's army at Yorktown was born across the sea. Has the Klan ever heard of the "Lost Battalion," the famous 77th, recruited, I am told, from among the foreign born of east side New York? The foreign born has helped to fight every battle of this Republic from the first to the last one; he has helped to build our cities; his labor and his little contribution have helped to build many a Protestant church; the foreign born, our ancestor, came here at the invitation of the American government; he sought and achieved American citizenship; it is because he came here that we are American born—and I say it is not 100 per cent Americanism, it is not justice, but on the other hand, it is the grossest injustice and perversion of American ideals, to kick and cuff and embitter the man, whose spirit and enterprise and good judgment caused him to become an American citizen by choice.

White supremacy! The Klan is sure of its ground now. What appeal could stir the imagination of white America more? For ages

the conflict between Europe and Asia has raged; the struggle for supremacy between the white man and the colored man—the yellow, the browns, the blacks and the reds. Does not America now hear the call to arms, the challenge to carry the banner of white civilization?

Has the Klan really thought upon this question? I charge the Klan has no more thought upon the question of white supremacy than it has thought about the foreigner, or the boycott, or the church, or the bootlegger. The Klan is merely toting another banner—this one more misleading than any of the rest.

The world of color is a very strong world. It outnumbers the white world two to one. There are 550 million white inhabitants of the globe; 500 million yellow men, 450 million browns, 150 million blacks and 50 million reds.

According to Madison Grant, the white race tends to double every 80 years, the yellows and browns every 60 years, the blacks every forty years. Physically, the yellow race is the strongest. The yellow man can live in extreme cold or in extreme heat and thrive on a few bowls of rice. Spiritually, the world of color is almost impervious to change. The blacks of Africa are becoming Moslem at an amazing pace—60 million converts is the record in half a century.

Four times since the fall of Rome, the world of color has conquered to the very confines of Nordic Europe. Attila, the Hun, later the Arab hosts, then Jenghis Kahn and finally the Turks, almost destroyed white civilization. Like the ebb and flow of the tide, throughout the centuries, have occurred certain vast improvements of the races, first the onward push, then the recession. But for the discovery of America by Columbus, the white world probably would have perished. Columbus opened the door through which the white man escaped from a ruthless, aggressive Asia; he made Europe mistress of the seas and therefore mistress of the world.

Since 1683, when the Turks were defeated under the walls of Vienna, the white tide has swept on, an irresistible force before which the world of color recoiled into silence, isolation and inertia.

With the dawn of the twentieth century a great event occurred. We heard the sudden boom of the Japanese guns across the waters of Port Arthur harbor. The yellow man, awakened after a refreshing sleep, humbled the greatest white nation, potentially, in the world. Did the Russo-Japanese war mark the beginning of the white ebb? The student shakes his head and wonders.

White supremacy! is that what the Klan stands for? Can you conceive of white supremacy without white solidarity? Are the white

communities of the United States more united in spirit and purpose now than they were before the advent of the Invisible Empire?

White supremacy! Is that what the Klan stands for? Are not Catholics white? Are not Jews white? Are not anti-Klan Protestants white? Are not Germans white, and Russians white, and Frenchmen white, and Belgians white and Englishmen white? Why even the Irish are white!

From his Imperial palace at Atlanta the Imperial Wizard shouts white supremacy in one breath, and spurns ninety-five percent of the white world in the next breath!

Lothrop Stoddard says in his *Rising Tide of Color*: "If America is not true to her own soul, she will inevitably lose it, and the brightest star that has appeared since Hellas, will fall like a meteor from the human sky, its brilliant radiance fading into night."

Does the Ku Klux Klan understand the soul of America? What is the soul of this nation to which white civilization clings like the child at its mother's breast?

The soul of America is tolerance. The soul of America is justice. The soul of America is liberty. The soul of America is peace. The soul of America is love; and, if left to her own impulses, America, beacon light of white civilization, charged with the most sublime task in human history, will carry her ideals of tolerance and justice and liberty and peace and love to the people of every race and every faith, not with the bluff and bluster of an Imperial Wizard but with the simplicity and humility of the Man from Galilee.

Already we hear the challenge of white supremacy answered in the east by the slogan, yellow supremacy. "The east will see the west to bed," was the whisper that ran through the bazaars of Asia at the outbreak of the European cataclysm. Another war like the Great War probably would mean the end of white civilization. We of the white world are not without sin. We have not always been fair to other peoples and other races. It is true that we have a great mission to perform, but to belch smoke and fire and thunder through the universe with a chip on our shoulder is to invite disaster. We must learn Christ's lesson—that the right to peace, the right to happiness, the right to a part of the earth on which to live, do not belong exclusively to any Klan, to any nation, to any race, but are the common heritage of the Brotherhood of Man.

No less than 478,000 negroes migrated from the south to the north in 1923 alone, according to the figures of the United States Department of Labor. The Klan is determined to make the south a white man's country. Does the Klan imagine that those negroes could mys-

teriously disappear into the air or into the bowels of the earth like the bootlegger and foreigners and Catholics and Jews? Where did those negroes go? They went into the factories of the north, where they took the place of white labor, and filled up the gap created by closing the gates of New York harbor to the foreign immigrant. What is the Indiana Klan going to do about it? Is it going to drive the negroes back to the south? The southerner is beginning to hope so because negro labor is needed to help move the crops. In 1922 and 1923 the situation was so serious that a number of southern legislatures actually attempted by law to check the unparalleled migration of the negro, in part due to changing industrial conditions, in part to the Klan terror.

But there is a still more dangerous aspect to the problem of negro migration than the economic one. Heretofore the negro population has been confined to a relatively small area; now it is to be scattered throughout the forty-eight states of the American Union. The social and racial problem is to be broadened and at the same time intensified. Students of race eugenics all agree that the mixture of the black blood and the white blood produces the anemic type of citizen—that intercourse between the two races would eventually destroy both the black race and the white race. Is it best for white civilization to confine the negro in the south, where he is suited to agricultural pursuits and where he is more happy than anywhere else, or shall we support the Klan terror, send the negro on a joy ride around the country and perhaps let loose forces that we may not be able to control?

Law and Order, One Church, the Protestant, Patriotism, White Supremacy—the whole Klan creed, as it has worked out in practice, is now in the discard—yet its deadly effects have been only partially recounted. There is not time tonight to tell how, in Oklahoma, it has sunk its poisonous fangs into the American Legion, into fraternal societies, chambers of commerce, farm and labor organizations, political parties, the government, the militia, the school, the pulpit, the press and, in fact, into every nerve of the social body, causing division, hostility, irritation, alarm, hysteria, paralysis—almost civil war.

Reason explain the Ku Klux Klan. There is no reason in it. The Klan is as devoid of balance as the Japanese spinning mice. It can only be interpreted on one hypothesis. It is purely psychological. The Ku Klux Klan is a craze—as much so the one-piece bathing suit, Ma Jongg, and bobbed hair. When a man joins the Ku Klux Klan a sensation seems to come over him as definite as falling in love. He simply drops out of society and enters a new world. The Klansman is the victim of what the psychologist calls, the crowd mentality. Everything sweet and delicate is smothered as he walks into the monster's lair!

In his illuminating volume on Crowd Behavior, Everett Dean Marn declares the forces which really threaten society are not economic but psychological. "Society," he declares, "is becoming a babel of gibbering crowds, each of which must become a cult, write its philosophy in flaming headlines and sell its cause in the market."

The man who organized the Klan for profit must have had a shrewd understanding of crowd psychology as now manifesting itself in America and elsewhere. How perfectly the Klan fits into the crowd idea is illustrated by Professor Martin's diagnosis of the crowd mentality:

Every crowd boosts for itself, lauds itself, gives itself airs, speaks with oracular finality, regards itself as morally superior, and will, so far as it has the power, lord itself over everyone. Does that description fit the Klan?

Crowd men have little sense of humor, certainly none concerning themselves and their own crowd ideas. Does that description fit the Klan with its Goblins and Terrors, Dismal Days, Windy Weeks and mournful Months?

Crowd morals everywhere take the form of prohibitions, taboos and ready-made standards, chiefly negative. Does that description fit the Klan?

The crowd is the creature of ego; the crowd is the creature of hate. Does that description fit the Klan?

In short, according to this prominent psychologist, "a crowd is merely a device for indulging ourselves in a kind of temporary insanity—all going crazy together," and that is exactly what members of the Klan have let themselves do.

The Klansman is suffering from a bad case of "nerves." He is being haunted by ghosts. The war was too much for him and he needs treatment in the psychopathic ward. He must "get over" the Klan the same as he must "get over" the measles or small-pox or shell shock. In Oklahoma many Klansmen are recovering, though there are some new victims of the disease, drawn mostly from the least desirable elements of society. In fact we are rapidly approaching the final episode in the Klan tragedy, and at any moment we expect to see the Invisible Empire explode in a fusillade of political pyrotechnics. Before the steady pressure of an aroused public opinion the Klan has had to give way, first here and then there, until it is now hardly more than a cheap political machine, caught in the web of its own silly and senseless hysteria.

In Oklahoma we are not voting for Klansmen this year. The Oklahoma farmer, a true son of the soil who insists on looking his neighbor in the eye, will not vote for any man who wears a mask, and it is the farmer in Oklahoma who has broken the power of the Klan.

Another thought or two and then I am through. One of the most amusing phases of Klan psychology is the designation of all non-Klansmen as "aliens." Is it really we who are "aliens?" We who oppose the Klan say it is the Klansman who has left America; that he has left his country just as truly as if he had taken a ship and sailed for a foreign land. Nay, more so, because he might have taken the ship and carried his American ideals with him, but when he put on the hood and gown and concealed his identity from his fellow citizen—perhaps a neighbor he had loved and respected for a quarter of a century—when he did that, he left America and took absolutely nothing with him.

And now it becomes the solemn duty of those who have remained true to the Stars and Stripes to bring these wandering Klansmen home—back to the good old U. S. A.

There is an old saying that "every cloud has its silver lining." Even the thunderstorm, with its terrifying bolt and lightning flash, purifies the air and sends man refreshed to his daily task. Fire, earthquake or tornado may devastate the fairest portion of our land, yet the nature of mankind is such that new beauty spots arise and the very desolation sometimes proves a blessing in disguise.

The Ku Klux Klan is America's opportunity. It is her opportunity to renew the promise of '76. It is her opportunity to re-dedicate herself to the eternal principles of religious freedom, racial justice, trial by jury, freedom of speech and freedom of press. It is her opportunity to show that the heart and brain of America cannot be affixed to an Invisible Empire through an ugly oath or under a hood and gown. It is America's opportunity to prove that she will tolerate neither the tyranny of the minority nor the tyranny of the majority—that in this Republic every citizen is equal before the law and every citizen will be protected if it takes every penny and every drop of blood of every man, woman and child in the forty-eight sovereign states. When the Klan storm has passed, I predict that the eternal principles upon which this government was founded will be more firmly implanted than ever in the hearts of the American people.

Liberty is calling to the American people as she has not called since '76. Liberty demands something more than half service; it is not enough to "sound her praises and set up her statues." In the language of a great philosopher, "Liberty is to virtue what light is to color, to knowledge what eyes are to sight; to wealth what sunshine is to grain. Liberty is the brawn of national strength, the spirit of national independence." Liberty demands all that the American citizen can give.

Throughout the ages there have been men who have worshipped at the shrine of the Goddess Liberty; men who have defended Liberty with

the zeal and passion of divine inspiration. And there have been men who have ravished Liberty; men who have defiled Liberty by denying the right of trial by jury; men who have degraded Liberty by refusing their fellow citizens the right to be faced by their accusers; men who have betrayed Liberty, even as Judas betrayed his Christ, by stifling religious freedom and racial justice.

Today the clouds are still dark on the horizon. We can still hear the rumble of the thunder and see the lightning flash. Liberty, Goddess of our Destiny, Pilot of the Ship of State, is signalling, "all hands on deck!" Shall we obey the command? Remember, it is easier to lose Liberty than to win Liberty; that without Liberty there can be no love, no light, only hate and darkness in the world.

Liberty is calling to every one of us tonight. Liberty is calling for the old America in which men shook each other by the hand and looked into each other's eyes. Liberty is calling for the old America in which life was rich and full and sweet. Liberty is calling to the Ku Klux Klan tonight. Liberty is asking every Klansman to come back to the glorious land of his birth. Liberty is crying, pleading, for a happy, good-natured, united America, in which there is neither Klan nor anti-Klan, but only one citizenship with one heart and one conscience and one brain, dedicated to one flag, the Stars and Stripes, and to one brotherhood—the Brotherhood of Man!

A TRIP THROUGH THE KLAVERN.

To meet a wide demand, especially outside of Oklahoma, where the character of the Klan is not so well known, I am including with my lecture the following pages, devoted mostly to excerpts from secret Klan documents and the Klan constitution, together with confessions and admissions made by members of the Invisible Empire during the military investigation in Oklahoma, and at other times while the Klan struggle was raging in that state. A careful perusal and a little imagination will afford the reader an excellent understanding of what goes on within the Klan Klavern. The Klan oath, the extracts from the papers read by the Grand Dragons at their meeting in Asheville, North Carolina, the published statement of Doctor W. T. Tilley, former Exalted Cyclops, the confession of Captain Ray Montgomery, chief of the Klan whipping squad in Shawnee, the testimony of various Klansmen before the military tribunals touching upon mob violence, and the attitude of the Klan toward jury service, the military aspect of the Invisible Empire revealed by its own secret literature, the edict of the Imperial Wizard, the threatening letter which is but a sample of thousands sent to citizens of Oklahoma, the preposterous Klan "calendar," the genealogy of the various Klan titles, the classification of Jews and Catholics with bootleggers, libertines and negro preachers—all justify the following definition of the Ku Klux Klan by the Oklahoma Leader:

"The Klan is the 'beatinest' thing that ever came down the pike. It's a fraternal order for the promotion of strife; an empire for the promotion of democracy; a criminal conspiracy for the upholding of the law; a peace crusade by violence, and a new sort of Christianity that would flog Christ for being a Jew and a foreigner."

The Klan Oath.

As the Klansman enters the Klavern, he is obliged to take the following oath, paragraph 5, Section 4, of which undoubtedly compels a Klansman, who is true to his oath, to compound a felony under certain conditions. That such has been done repeatedly in Oklahoma is common talk. Attention also is especially invited to the final paragraph of the oath in which loyalty to the constitution of the United States is pledged. These paragraphs not only contradict each other, it being impossible for a citizen to compound a felony and at the same time uphold the constitution, but should be carefully compared with the lesson in "Klan-kraft" that follows the oath.

"Section 1. Obedience.

"(You will say:) 'I (pronounce your full name, and repeat after me) 'in the presence of God and man, most solemnly pledge, promise and swear, unconditionally, that I will faithfully obey the Constitution and laws; and will willingly conform to all regulations, usages and re-

quirements of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which do now exist or which may be hereafter enacted; and I will render at all times loyal respect and steadfast support to the Imperial Authority of same; and will heartily heed all official mandates, decrees, edicts, rulings and instructions of the Imperial Wizard thereof. I will yield prompt response to all summons, I having knowledge of same, Providence alone preventing.

"Section 2. Secrecy.

"I most solemnly swear that I will forever keep sacredly secret the signs, words and grip; and any and all matters and knowledge of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, regarding which a most rigid secrecy must be maintained, which may at any time be communicated to me, and will never divulge same, nor even cause the same to be divulged to any person in the whole world, unless I know positively that such person is a member of this Order in good faith and regular standing, and not even then unless it be for the best interest of this Order.

"I most sacredly vow and most positively swear that I will not yield to bribe, flattery, threats, passion, punishment, persuasion, nor any enticements whatever coming from or offered by any person or persons, male or female, for the purpose of obtaining from me a secret or secret information of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. I will die rather than divulge same. So help me, God. AMEN.

"Section 3. Fidelity.

"(You will say:) 'I' (pronounce your full name and repeat after me) 'before God, and in the presence of these mysterious Klansmen, on my sacred honor, do most solemnly and sincerely pledge, promise and swear that I will diligently guard and faithfully foster every interest of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and will maintain its social cast and interest.

"I swear that I will not recommend any person for membership in this Order whose mind is unsound, or whose reputation I know to be bad, or whose character is doubtful, or whose loyalty to our country is in any way questionable.

"I swear that I will pay promptly all just and legal demands made upon me to defray the expense of my Klan, and this Order, when same are due or called for.

"I swear that I will protect the property of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, of any nature whatsoever; and if any should be entrusted to my keeping, I will properly keep, or rightly use same, and will freely and promptly surrender same on official demand, or if ever I am banished from or voluntarily discontinue my membership in this Order.

"I swear that I will, most determinedly, maintain peace and harmony in all the deliberations of the gatherings or assemblies of the Invisible Empire, and of any subordinate jurisdiction or Klan thereof.

"I swear that I will most strenuously discourage selfishness and selfish political ambition on the part of myself or any Klansman.

"I swear that I will never allow personal friendship, blood or family relationship, nor personal, political or professional prejudice, malice or ill will, to influence me in casting my vote for the election or rejection of an applicant for membership in this Order, God being my helper. AMEN!

"Section 4. Klanishness.

"(You will say:) 'I' (pronounce your full name and repeat after me) 'most solemnly pledge, promise and swear that I will never slander, defraud, deceive, or any manner wrong the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a Klansman, nor a Klansman's family, nor will I suffer the same to be done, if I can prevent it.

"I swear that I will be faithful in defending and protecting the home, reputation, and physical and business interest of a Klansman and that of a Klansman's family.

"I swear that I will at any time, without hesitating, go to the assistance or rescue of a Klansman in any way; at his call I will answer; I will be truly Klanish toward Klansmen in all things honorable.

"I swear that I will not allow any animosity, friction nor ill will

to arise and remain between myself and a Klansman; but will be constant in my efforts to promote real Klanishness among the members of this Order.

"I SWEAR THAT I WILL KEEP SECURE TO MYSELF A SECRET OF A KLANSMAN WHEN SAME IS COMMITTED TO ME IN THE SACRED BOND OF KLANSMANSHIP, THE CRIME OF VIOLATING THIS SOLEMN OATH, TREASON AGAINST THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, RAPE, AND MALICIOUS MURDER ALONE EXCEPTED.

"I most solemnly assert and affirm that to the government of the United States of America and any state thereof, of which I may become a resident, I sacredly swear an unqualified allegiance above any other and every kind of government in the whole world. I here and now pledge my life, my property, my vote and my sacred honor, to uphold its flag, its constitution, and constitutional laws, and will protect, defend and enforce same to death.

"I swear that I will most zealously and valiantly shield and preserve by any and all justifiable means and methods, the sacred constitutional rights and privileges of free public schools, free speech, free press, separation of church and state, liberty, white supremacy, just laws and the pursuit of happiness, against any encroachments of any nature, by any person or persons, political party or parties, religious sect or people, native, naturalized or foreign, of any race, color, creed, lineage or tongue whatever."

Having now paid his ten dollars and having sworn to protect a Klansman's secret, "the crime of violating this solemn oath, treason against the United States, rape, and malicious murder alone excepted," and having also sworn to uphold the constitution of the United States, the Klansman next receives his first lesson in "Klankraft." That lesson consists in studying the "Papers and Messages of the Grand Dragons Read At Their First Annual Meeting in Asheville, North Carolina, in July, 1923," which the Dragons themselves, in the Preface, describe as a "textbook on Klankraft dedicated to the Klansmen of America."

I have the honor first to introduce the Grand Dragon of the State of Illinois, who speaking on pages 30 and 31 of this sacred volume, makes the following observations for the edification of the American citizen who has just left the United States and been "naturalized" as a citizen of the Invisible Empire. (The capitals are mine):

"It" (referring to his address) "also includes a comparison of the government of the United States, with its seat of government at the Capitol in Washington, and the government of the Invisible Empire with its seat of Government at the Imperial Palace in Atlanta. This is not altogether a metaphor, BUT SOMETHING REAL. . . WE MUST LET THE WORLD KNOW THAT THE INVISIBLE EMPIRE IS CONSTITUTED AND EXISTS WITH AS MUCH VERITY AS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ARE CONSTITUTED AND EXIST."

Again:

"Our National Government has its basic law, and constitution. The Invisible Empire likewise, has its basic law and constitution. . . TO

THOSE OF US WHO KNOW, WE ALONE APPRECIATE THAT THE CONSTITUTION OF THE INVISIBLE EMPIRE IS JUST AS WONDERFUL A DOCUMENT AS THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

And again (page 31):

"So, our Constitution of the United States of America is dedicated to the forming of a more perfect union, establishment of justice, insurance of domestic tranquility, providing for the common defense, promotion of the general welfare, and securing the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity. What could be more wonderful? NOTHING COULD BE MORE WONDERFUL UNLESS IT WOULD BE THE CONSTITUTION OF THE INVISIBLE EMPIRE DEDICATED, ORDAINED AND ESTABLISHED TO INSURE UNITY OF ORGANIZATION; TO GUARANTEE AN EFFECTIVE FORM OF GOVERNMENT, etc., etc."

Having now been convinced that the constitution of the Invisible Empire is quite as "wonderful" as the constitution of the United States and that the Invisible Empire is just as "real" as the country he has just left, the new Klansman is permitted to scan the Ku Klux Klan constitution. Section 2 reads as follows:

"The government of this order shall ever be military in character, especially in its executive management and control; AND NO LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENT OR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT hereafter shall encroach upon, affect or change this fundamental principle of the Invisible Empire."

A tremor shakes the body of the former citizen of the United States as he reads this section, but he is quickly reassured by Paul S. Etheridge, Imperial Klonsel, the title of whose paper read at Asheville was "AN INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN." Says the Imperial Klonsel (page 39):

"The form and character of our government (referring to the Klan) is, however, both in theory and practice, military, and in a sense autocratic. We ourselves have made it so.

"Article 1, Section 2, of the Constitution is very explicit on this point. Our Imperial Wizard is Commander-in-Chief, and he is supreme within certain restrictions of the Constitution, and his decisions, decrees, edicts, mandates, rulings and instructions are of full authority, and must be unquestionably recognized and respected by each and every citizen of the Invisible Empire.

"The military feature runs all through our plan of operation, and the autocratic form of government lies in the fact of the authority and power vested in our Imperial Wizard, and also in the method of his elec-

tion. See in this connection Article 9, Section 1; where provision is made for the election of the Wizard by the Grand Dragons . . . WHO ARE THEMSELVES SUBJECTS OF HIS OWN APPOINTMENT."

The Imperial Klonsel then sums up as follows (pages 40 and 41):

"There is another reason why our government must be military in character. Our organization is more than a secret order: it is a movement; in a sense it is a Crusade. Military discipline must be maintained in our organization because we, unlike purely civic bodies, or civic governments, are sailing uncharted seas, and there is no precedent by which we may be guided. Many other organizations, having somewhat similar objects and purposes, but without the military feature, have fallen by the wayside and been forgotten. Because there is no precedent by which we can be guided, it becomes essential that one general direct the march, and that direction be accomplished only through a rigid military program. If the time shall come when the purposes for which the Klan was organized have all been accomplished, then its members need no longer be a militant, fighting organization, and they may possibly revert into an organization something like the veterans of foreign wars, or the veterans of any other crusade; BUT UNTIL SUCH TIME, AND UNTIL THE PURPOSES FOR WHICH THE KLAN WAS ORGANIZED HAVE BEEN ACCOMPLISHED, THE MILITARY FEATURE OF THE KLAN MUST BE MAINTAINED."

Convinced now that the military character of the Invisible Empire is necessary, the new citizen is given a lesson in "co-ordination" so that he may be entirely familiar with the structure of the military machine and competent to render service when called upon. This lesson is taken from "Klan Building," a small book of instructions for officers. Under sub-heading 3, relating to "Co-ordination," page 8, the Klan military machine is described as follows:

"Co-Ordination of the Klan operating machinery in order to establish proper liaison within the Klan should be completed without delay. This is accomplished by the perfection of a complete military system composed of Klansmen, whose appointments are approved by the Exalted Cyclops, to serve the Klansmen residing within such subdivisions of the Klanton as are platted by the Exalted Cyclops, with competent local advice. The Exalted Cyclops is commander-in-chief of this military system and its activities. It is advisable, however, to place the Klaliff, as the colonel, in active command, for the reason that this centers the responsibility for a properly functioning system under the immediate direction of the second in rank, thereby assuring the organization proper facilities for liaison, communication and action.

"The Klaliff having been assigned the duty of directing the military machinery, he should appoint as his assistant a Lieutenant Colonel.

A TRIP THROUGH THE KLAVERN

A TRIP THROUGH THE KLAVERN

27

s office should, of necessity, be filled by a Klansman with military organization experience sufficient to understand all the requirements of military establishment. Sufficient majors are appointed to preside over the major sub-divisions of the Klanton. The captains recommend appointment of sufficient Sergeants to insure proper liaison within their respective territories under their respective majors. The sergeants recommend the appointment of sufficient Corporals to insure one corporal for each block of his territory. Where the Klan population is very dense, it is advisable to have one Corporal to serve each eight Klansmen. This gives assurance to the Klan membership of perfect contact with headquarters, in order to assure co-operation of the body through- out. This machinery functions as a co-operative, cohesive, systematic of communication and intelligence."

If anything further is needed to convince the young citizen of the Empire of the effectiveness of such an organization, he is permitted to read the sworn testimony of Captain Ray Montgomery, assistant secretary of the intelligence department of the Shawnee, Oklahoma, taken by the military tribunal at Oklahoma City. The Dr. J. A. Walker referred to in the evidence was at that time Exalted Cyclops of Shawnee Klan. The testimony follows:

"Will you please state to the stenographer in your own way your connection with the Ku Klux Klan as assistant secretary and as captain of the intelligence squad, giving the names of various other intelligence squads, that you might know and the names of various members who participated in the whippings, and the names of the parties who were whipped, as far as you can, and who received permission from the Exalted Cyclops to whip them?

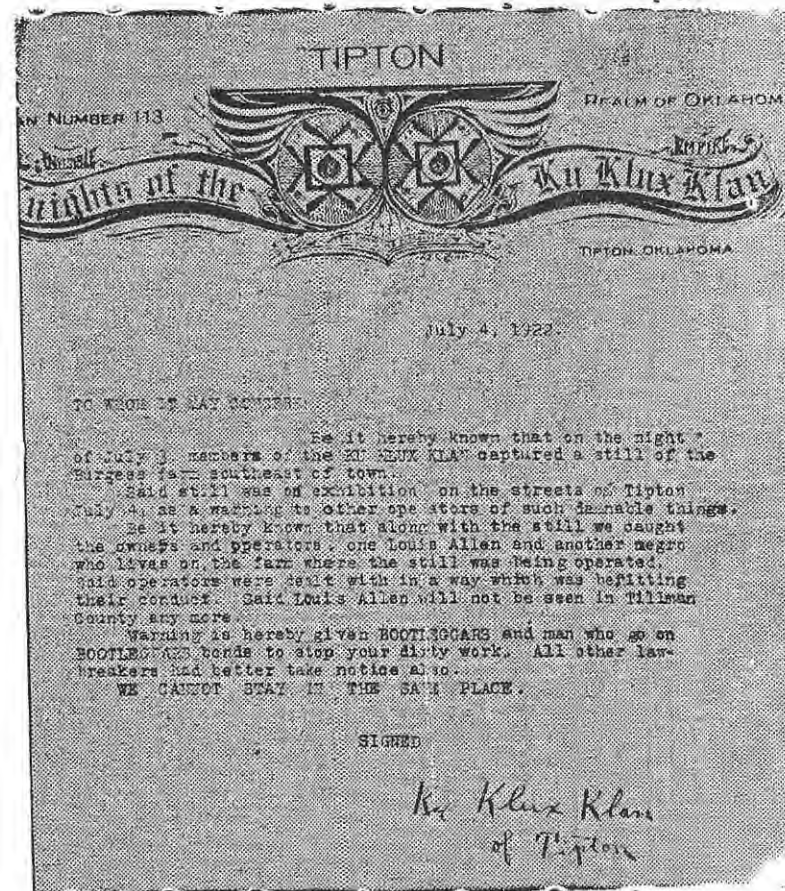
"John C. McCoy was captain of one of the intelligence squads. Mr. J. C. Sowers, formerly of the Metropolitan Insurance Co., Shawnee, was captain of one. Captain Howell was captain of one. Captain Howell was National guard, Howitzer Company, was one, and C. W. Graves was myself.

"I would like to state that Captain Howell was known as the superior commander of the intelligence department.

"All orders we five captains received were from him. We were the intelligence department of the Klan, and the members of our organization did participate in whippings, but it wasn't known exactly as the whipping squads, but they sought information in various ways. I can state that each captain of the intelligence department knew his part but did not know the members of the other captains' squads.

"J. C. Sowers, formerly of the Metropolitan Insurance Co., Shawnee, was whipped during March, 1922. J. C. McCoy got permission from Dr. J. A. Walker to do this.

"This man was whipped three miles east of Shawnee on the High-



The above is a sample of thousands of similar communications received by citizens of Oklahoma, every one of them a violation of state and federal law and all bearing the official seal of the Klan.

nd road by J. C. McCoy, Lafayette Evans, Orville Hunter, Mr. Shaw
the Mackay Telegraph Company, and Ernest Brundage. Orville
Hunter did the lashing of Mr. Sowers.

"Mr. McCoy told me in the office of the Metropolitan Insurance
company on the evening before we took Mr. Sowers out, I was with
him, that he had permission to whip Mr. Sowers from Dr. J. A. Wal-
ker, that he wanted to beat him out of a woman whom he was playing.
Mr. McCoy had discharged Mr. Sowers from the service of the Metro-
politan Insurance Company, trying to get him to leave the woman whom
he was playing. But it didn't have any effect on Mr. Sowers and Mr.
McCoy told me that he was going to get permission to whip him, which
he did.

"At this time Mr. Sowers has the rheumatism caused by this lash-
ing and he is not physically able to perform his duties.

"I don't just remember the date, but during 1921 Frank Cole,
Tommy Jones, Claude McCannon and a brother of Mr. Cole, whom I
have mentioned, were taken out from the taxi stand which was near
the Walcott hotel at Shawnee, Okla., something like three miles south-
west of Shawnee on the Tecumseh road, and something like 150 mem-
bers of the Shawnee Klan participated. Major C. M. Reber, formerly
major in the Oklahoma National Guard and secretary to the Klan or-
ganization, got permission from Dr. J. A. Walker to whip these men on
the charges that they were selling whiskey and carrying lewd women
in their cars. Mr. Graves, whom I have mentioned above, kept in the
intelligence department, myself, Frank Martin, Major C. M. Reber.

"We captured these men in their office. Then they were turned
over to the mob that was waiting on the outside, composed of 150 Klans-
men, and they were carried to the above place and were severely beaten
by Major C. M. Reber, a man by the name of Higging, now in Oklahoma
city, and a Mr. Johnson, now an employee of the Rock Island railroad
at Shawnee, and foreman of the painters in the shops; they did the lash-
ing of these men.

"Mr. Graves, one of the captains in the intelligence department,
wanted to tie Frank Cole behind a Ford car and drag him across the
ground to make him confess that he was guilty of the charges that they
had preferred against him. They beat this man to a stage of uncon-
sciousness.

"This man wore false teeth and he begged them to let him take the
teeth out; that he was about to swallow them. They told him they didn't
give a damn if they did kill him; that he deserved it; that he was known
as a gunman.

"Mr. McCannon, the next victim, was punished with Mr. Cole. He

begged them for mercy, but they didn't seem to have any. They told
him that they wanted to beat him to death.

"While Mr. Johnson was whipping this man I caught him by the
arm and asked him to have mercy on this fellow. They were trying to
make him tell that he had stolen \$250 from his sister-in-law, which
some members of the Klan had information that he had.

"But after all of the beating he never confessed, stating that he
wasn't guilty.

"I saw those men the next morning and they were in a very bad
condition from the beating they had received this night.

So you know who constituted the regular whipping squad?

In Shawnee?

In Shawnee.

"Well, now, just like I stated in that, it is just up to the Cyclops.
He picks these men out and he might call me, as a captain, and tell me
to get my man or men that live in my district together, and that he had
a little job for us and I would call at his office and find out what it was.

The districts, how are they composed? What composes a district?
Something like voting precincts.

"Something like voting precincts. So many members in a certain
precinct and then a captain over them. That is not known as the in-
telligence department but as the Klan in general.

"They are also to look after election work, are they not?

"Yes, sir."

"Do you know of any other whippings?

"Various others in the county during my time in the Klan. One
evening Mr. Graves, as I stated in my affidavit, came to my house and
said he wanted me to go with him out in the country after a bad fellow.

"I told him I would go. He stated that he had permission from
Dr. J. A. Walker to whip a man who lived two miles west of Shawnee;
that he was a very bad fellow; that he was selling whiskey and had
women out at his place. Mr. Graves, Mr. Weaver, Oliver L. Hunter, Mr.
Johnson of the Rock Island, as I have stated, and several others that I
can't call their names, made a call on this man, finding him with an old-
like gentleman in his home sitting peaceably smoking when Mr. Graves
and myself entered the building.

"We captured this man and carried him something like 250 yards
from the building and he was punished severely. Mr. Graves, after this
whipping, when we had returned to town, reported to Dr. Walker that
the job was done and done well.

"I investigated this case later and found that this man that I have
mentioned was whipped owed Mr. Graves \$20.00; that he was formerly
an employee of the Rock Island and had gotten in debt to him for this

oney. I reported this to Dr. Walker, but he said he guessed he needed anyway. At this time, can't call this man's name, but I know him and can furnish this information later.

"Did you ever get permission from Dr. Walker to whip anybody?"

"Yes, sir, I got permission to whip Mr. Sowers, as I was instructed to do so by Mr. John C. McCoy of the Metropolitan Insurance Co.

"What representation did you make to Dr. Walker?"

"I told him that Mr. McCoy had sent me to get permission and Dr. Walker said: 'Yes, I have been wanting this man whipped for some time and lay it on him, and lay it on him hard.' The next day after I had permission to whip Mr. Sowers, I met Dr. J. A. Walker on the corner of Bell and Main in front of the Shawnee National Bank and he asked me did I do the job and I told him no, that I hated to. He gave me to understand that whenever he told me to do anything to do it, and I wanted me to have this man whipped and report to him as soon as was done.

"Any other whippings that you have in mind?"

"The same parties that I have mentioned took a negro porter who in Shawnee at this time and now employed by the Wynnewood hotel, from the hotel and gave him a good lashing and ordered him to leave town.

"Do you know who got permission to do that?"

"I am not sure of this, but Mr. Graves handled the situation.

"After a man was whipped, did you come back and make a report to the Cyclops?"

"Yes, sir, that the job is done and done well.

"Is that report made to him privately?"

"Sometimes it is privately, and sometimes not.

"Is it sometimes made in open lodge?"

"It depends on who the party is. If it is a man they are really afraid that there might be a hereafter, it is very secretly discussed, but if it is some poor fellow who they think hasn't a chance in the world to get back at them, then they tell the lodge.

"In open lodge?"

"In open lodge.

"Can you give us the name of any man that was reported in open lodge of having been whipped?"

"Yes, sir. Mr. Donahoe, who is a blacksmith on the corner of Minnesota and Main, was taken out by Mr. Graves, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Bell and various others of the organization, and punished because he made a remark against the Ku Klux Klan, that 'They never should take him out,' and if there was fourteen of them come after him there would

be fourteen dead, so they took him and whipped him and reported it in open lodge that nobody was hurt."

"But what if I should be called upon by my former government for jury service and asked about my affiliations with the country of my adoption?" asks the young Klansman as he finishes reading the testimony, and realizes the danger that citizenship in the Invisible Empire incurs.

"Oh, that is easy," replies the Exalted Cyclops. "I hand you a copy of part of the testimony of John R. Guyer, a practicing lawyer, taken by the military tribunal at Oklahoma City. In his testimony, Mr. Guyer explains the instructions given to all Klansmen when called upon for jury service by the United States." The testimony follows:

Q. Mr. Guyer, do you know whether or not the Klan has been interested in the Jury Commission or the jury box in any way?

A. I only know what the policy of the Klan was with regard to that.

Q. What was the policy?

A. The policy was to absolutely control it and have Klansmen on the jury.

Q. What is your opinion as to what conditions exist in this country at the present time, Mr. Guyer?

A. May I preface that answer, Mr. McCloud, just a little bit? I am going to answer it the best I know how.

Q. Yes, proceed.

A. I have been in the practice of law for nearly thirty years. I have been amongst Mexicans and speak their language and have practiced in their courts both in the United States and in Cuba. I have seen unfair things. I don't know about the conditions in other counties of the state, but I do know that in this county conditions surrounding the administration of justice are utterly damnable. I know that of my own personal knowledge.

Q. Can you relate some instances or circumstances into the record that will give us any light on this matter, Mr. Guyer?

A. I can relate several, sir.

Q. Just go right ahead and relate them.

A. Before I do that, gentlemen of the court, I want to touch just a little bit on that policy of the Klan. I don't know whether to call it the policy of the Klan or not. I want to tell you what I heard and what I know. I heard Grant Landon, who was Grand Cyclops of this Klan,—and I want to tell you that I shivered when I heard it,—I was not the only lawyer there and I expect there were a hundred right here of the City bar that heard what I heard—and Landon came in the middle of the Klan room up there and told these men to tell the members of this

Klan what to do in case they were summoned on the jury. I saw Landon go out of here a while ago. I don't know what his testimony was, and I don't know whether he said he did do that or whether he said he did not do it, but he did do it. He says: "The question has arisen, what would happen here if a man was summoned on the jury." J. K. Wright, (county attorney), was there and heard him,—that is, I believe he was there. Mit Singleton, who was at that time assistant county attorney, was there. He was running for District Judge. Grant said that that question had come up. He said: "Now I want to instruct you what to do under those conditions. You are instructed now that the moment you are summoned on a jury, you automatically cease to become Klansmen, and so that you may answer truthfully that you are not a Klansman. I tell you this." I said: "Well, what are they going to say when they ask them if they ever did belong to it?" He did not make any reply.

Q. (By Major Ledbetter): In what capacity was Landon acting when he gave that instruction?

A. As the Cyclops of the Klan.

Q. Mr. Guyer, don't you know as a matter of fact that the jury box is filled up with the names of Klansmen?

A. I haven't the slightest doubt of that.

Being now again reassured, and understanding the value of deception, the new citizen of the Invisible Empire receives a brief lesson on the boycott, and in religious intolerance and racial bigotry, taken from the papers read at Asheville. Quoting from the Grand Dragon of Oklahoma (pages 49 and 50):

"Vocational Klanishness is paramount to the ultimate success of our order. . . . The seeds of vocational Klanishness should be SOWN at every opportunity in all meetings of Klansmen and in CAREFULLY WORDED PRESS TERMS. Klansmen should be taught that it is their SACRED DUTY AS KLANSMEN TO ALWAYS FAVOR A KLANSMAN in the COMMERCIAL WORLD, whether it be in buying, selling, advertising, employment, political, social or IN ANY WAY WHEREIN A KLANSMAN IS AFFECTED.

"Let us leave no stone unturned . . . to convince the alien world that we are in reality Knights of that great Invisible Empire, founded on the rock of Christianity, DESTINED TO DICTATE THE POLICIES OF GOVERNMENT AND MEN, AND THEIR RIGHT TO LIVE AS CHRISTIAN GENTLEMEN, IN THIS GLORIOUS LAND OF OURS, AMERICA."

And now from "An Exalted Cyclops of the Order" (pages 126 and 27):

"Every bootlegger, moonshiner, Jake seller, libertine, prostitute

and blackleg gambler feels that the life of their vicious business depends upon putting the Klan out of business. CLOSELY ALLIED WITH THIS MOTLEY CREW AND GOING HAND IN HAND WITH THEM, in their efforts to suppress the Klan, we have Roman Catholics, Jews, a certain class of negro preachers and a few honest, but misguided Gentiles.

"You must either join the Klan and throw your influence on the side of decency, Christianity and law enforcement, or join the law-breakers, negro preachers, Roman Catholics and Jews."

But little remains to complete the education of the new citizen. He must of course know something about the Klan jury system, and the penalty that attaches to a citizen of the Invisible Empire, who does not submit to the will of his superiors. There is the necessity also to teach him the meaning of the Klan titles and his education cannot be complete without learning the Klan calendar and familiarizing himself with the form used in the edicts and mandates of the Imperial Wizard. What happens to the recalcitrant Klansmen is superbly illustrated by Dr. W. T. Tilly's open letter to the Grand Dragon of Oklahoma published in the Muskogee Daily Phoenix, December 2, 1923. Dr. Tilly, a former Exalted Cyclops of Muskogee, Oklahoma, and in private life chief surgeon of the K. O. & G. railroad, committed the supreme blunder of speaking to Emperor Simmons during the dynastic war with Dr. Evans, now Imperial Wizard. The salient points in Dr. Tilly's unanswered communication follow:

"You, also, make it a point, apparently, to hit me as hard as possible in regard to being banished from the Klan. Now, as a matter of fact my trouble was a personal matter between the cyclops and the secretary. Charges were brought against me by some one, I do not know yet who, and as you know the cyclops and the next three of his subordinate officers are the ones that pick the jury and they, being hooded, try the case. In other words, the cyclops here picks six men, the vice, next man to him, picks six. This man, the vice, prosecuted me.

"Twelve is all it takes to convict. The next two men in rank, also, picked six men each and eight names were thrown out and the other sixteen tried me. I do not know, today, who brought the charges. Also, the constitution provides that the charges be in writing and I do not know what the charges were except that I have violated my obligation; and allowed ill-will to arise and remain between myself and a Klansman. It was not stated who the Klansman was. I could not have had witnesses, if I had wanted them.

"I notice, also, that you stated to the legislative committee, that any man can get a fair trial in the Ku Klux Klan. In this case, as I have already stated, the trouble was between the Cyclops, secretary and my-

self. The Cyclops dictated the jury, the secretary had charge of them, and claims to be the only man on earth who knows all of them. A great chance for a man to get a fair trial! I stood just about as much chance for a fair trial under this damnable un-American plan, as a snowball stands in hades.

"On the other hand, if I belonged to the Klan and would bring charges against a man for any offense, and he was a particular friend of the Cyclops, how much chance would I have of conviction under this un-American, unconstitutional, hooded jury, when he would have all the say-so of picking the members of the jury? And yet you claim to be 100 per cent American!

"I stand by every thing the Klan stands for, as far as the enunciation of their principles are concerned, but I do not stand for these actions and the *modus operandi* of the Klan. The truth of the matter is that this is one great reason I was banished from the Klan, because I dared to exercise my rights, under the constitution of the United States and under the pretended claims of the Ku Klux Klan, of free speech and free thought.

"I want to say to you that there never was nor never will be a more un-American organization in existence than the Ku Klux Klan the way it is operated today. Minor Meriwether and myself, together with a number of other men, met W. J. Simmons, the founder of Ku Klux Klan, in Tulsa and upon that occasion you saw fit to write every Klan in the state of Oklahoma that if any man had anything to do with W. J. Simmons on that occasion he would be banished. You made your word good as far as Minor Meriwether was concerned. He was banished from the Klan without trial or chance to defend himself, because he refused to take dictation from the czar. Yet you claim to be 100 per cent American, without any deductions, as stated in the constitution that was put in operation about a year ago.

"I do not, conscientiously, believe that any man that would study the constitution (unfortunately there is a very limited number of the Klan who know anything about the constitution or about its operation) would remain in the Klan. I believe there would be thousands and thousands that would withdraw rather than leave their reputations in the hands of the Klan.

"There was never more absolute power in Germany or Russia than is in the Klan today. The Imperial Wizard has more power, a great deal than the President of our United States, and he hands it on down to his Grand Dragons and Titans and Cyclops. You know very well that if any disobey them in any respect he is kicked out in dishonor and humiliated beyond conception.

"I do not consider the hood or mask one-third as dangerous out of

the Klavern as within the Klavern, and well you know this statement to be true.

"If you wish, I can give you and the public instances that have happened since the organization of this Klan to back every word I have said.

"When a candidate for membership takes his oath or obligation in the Ku Klux Klan, it is a matter of fact that he promises to support the constitution of the United States and the state in which he lives and their laws, also the constitution, by-laws and edicts of the Ku Klux Klan, which now exists or may, hereafter, be promulgated. Of course, they take this oath without knowing what the constitution contains and very few of them, in the United States today, know what the constitution of the Klan contains, as heretofore stated.

"The constitution of the United States and of each state provides that if a man is accused of a crime, that he shall face his accusers. The constitution of the Ku Klux Klan provides that his accusers shall not be known and even the man who brings the charges against him shall not be known. Is this 100 per cent Americanism? Is this complying with and supporting the constitution of the United States and the state in which we live?

"When I joined the Klan I did not believe that I had a single enemy in our city that would do me an injury. Through the constant lecturing and spreading propaganda I have scores of them today and this will be every man's experience that belongs to the Ku Klux Klan. Sooner or later his time will come."

And here is how the edicts come down from the Imperial Wizard himself, as taken from the military records of Oklahoma. There is a fable that these words are read in the Klavern by the Klan jester while the Knights are under the strictest orders not to remove their hoods during the reading for fear the concealed smiles would turn to unrestrained laughter.

By Colonel Graves:

I would like to quote in the record an official document of the Klan, showing how these instructions come down:

"Imperial instructions.

Document No. 1

Series A. D. 1918, AK LII.

Being official instructions in K-uno in the border Realm of Karacter from the one who traversed the Realm of the Unknown, wrested the solemn Secret from the grasp of Night, and became the Imperial Master of the great lost Mystery. Words of timely Wisdom from the soul of the great Imperial Wizard, who out of Mystic Darkness brings Light."

"Done in the Aulic of His Majesty, the Imperial Wizard, Emperor of the Invisible Empire, in the Imperial Palace, in the Imperial City of

Atlanta, Commonwealth of Georgia, United States of America, this the First day of the Fourth month of the Year of Our Lord Nineteen Hundred and Eighteen, and on the Deadly day of the Windy week of the Appalling month of the year of the Klan LII, and in the third Cycle of the third Reign of our Reincarnation. Officially uttered, inscribed, signed, sealed, communicated and committed to you in the sacred un-failing bond."

The new citizen next is taught the meaning of the titles with which the various Klan officials are dignified:

Wizard—One supposed to be in league with the devil. A male witch; a sorcerer.—*Standard Dictionary*.

Dragon—A fabulous serpent-like monster.—*Standard Dictionary*.

Titan—One of a fabled race of giants, children of Uranus and Gaea, meaning Heaven and Earth, who rebelled against God and attempted to usurp the government, but was banished to a place to be punished, called Tartarus which is a place as far below Hell as the Earth is below Heaven.—*International Encyclopedia*.

Cyclops—A race of one-eyed monsters, wild and lawless, who assisted Cronus to usurp the government of Heaven, and were condemned and cast into Tartarus, a place of punishment far below Hell.—*New International Encyclopedia*.

Goblin—A frightful creature fabled to haunt groves and grottoes. An impudent rogue. A scarecrow.—*Standard Dictionary*.

Can it any longer be doubted, to quote again from the Grand Dragon of Illinois, that the constitution of the Invisible Empire is more "wonderful" (with these pungent titles to take the place of such common appellations as president and senator) than the constitution of the United States?

The Klan calendar, contained in Article 21 of the Constitution of the Invisible Empire, is as follows:

ARTICLE 21.

Section 1. Hereafter the Calendar of this order, by which days, weeks, months, and years shall be designated in all official documents, is as follows:

Days	Weeks	
7. Desperate	5. Weird	10. Sorrowful
6. Dreadful	4. Wonderful	9. Mournful
5. Desolate	3. Wailing	8. Horrible
4. Doleful	2. Weeping	7. Terrible
3. Dismal	1. Woeful	6. Alarming
2. Deadly		5. Furious
1. Dark	Months	4. Fearful
	12. Appalling	3. Hideous
	11. Frightful	2. Gloomy
		1. Bloody

YEAR OF THE KLAN: The year of the Klan (Anno Klan) begins with the month of May each year.

Reign—The reign of incarnation includes all time up to the American Revolutionary War. The first reign of our reincarnation dates from the beginning of the Revolutionary War and the establishment of our government, to the organization of the Ku Klux Klan of the Reconstruction in the year 1866.

The second reign of our re-incarnation dates from the A. D., 1866, to the year 1872. The third reign of our re-incarnation dates from the year 1915 to the present and future.

The baptism of the young citizen of the Invisible Empire is now almost complete. But little remains to equip him to go forth into the alien world to spread the blessings of the Ku Klux Klan. He needs only to understand the Klan's respect for womanhood to get his degree. That "respect" is illustrated by the testimony of Annie Pike, given under oath at the military hearings in Tulsa. It follows:

"They," (referring to the Klan) said: 'Open the door,' and Joe got up and opened the door and they came in and came to my bed and told me to get up, and I asked them why I had to get up, and they jerked me out of bed in my night-clothes into the middle of the floor. I recognized them and they pushed me towards the front door. I told them to wait until I could get my dress, and they said I didn't need any dress. When I reached to get my dress one man threw a gun on me. That man I recognized, and it was Leon Barth. I grabbed a quilt and wrapped it around me and they handcuffed us both and put us in the car and blindfolded us. When we left the house we went west on the pavement, but I don't know where they took us. There was a man on each side of the car standing on the fenders.

Q. "After they got out into the country, what happened?"

A. "They took Joe out of the car and left two men to guard me. I called the parties and asked them not to hurt Joe or harm him in any way, and they said they were going to make a man out of him, that they had the privilege to do so, that the United States Government had given them the right to act in any way they saw fit. I didn't see Joe, but I heard him holler and heard the licks."

Q. "What happened after the licking?"

A. "They brought Joe back to the car and took me by the arm and led me out a ways. When they took me out of the car they told me to walk like a man. Two of them had hold of me and they asked me if I would like to join the Ku Klux Klan. I told them I didn't want to join the Klan, but I wished some one in the bunch would help me. When I said this I heard M. C. Williams talking and recognized his voice, and

I said, 'Please, Mac, help me,' and he said, 'You are right, it is me,' but I couldn't get him to talk any more."

Q. "What did they have you charged with?"

A. "For selling Choctaw beer. I told them we had quit making it after we got arrested and paid a fine, and that the house was open. They could go and see if they didn't think I was telling the truth. They said we are going to whip you, and I asked them what for; that I was innocent and that God knew I was telling the truth, and they said, 'God, hell.' Then they told me to squat down and I told them I had a broken knee and couldn't, and some one made a statement, 'We will whip her standing up.' They took the quilt away from around me and I just had on my night-gown and they began whipping and I began screaming, and they put their hand over my mouth and I fell unconscious. I didn't know anything more until I was back in the car, and when I came to I was all wet and some one had hold of my pulse, and some one asked if my heart was beating. After I had come back to my senses they asked me if I wanted a drink of water and I told them my jaws were all locked, that I couldn't drink. They blindfolded me again and brought me back home. I was sick at that time, and haven't been well since."

As the young citizen emerges from the Klavern, the world seems strange indeed. Here are men and women, "aliens" now, who still owe their whole allegiance to the Stars and Stripes and who do not understand the sacred blessings to be derived from hatred, bigotry, intolerance and ego, especially when cultivated under a hood and gown in the sacred precincts of the Klan Klavern.

What is he to do? How is the "alien world" to be saved? How are the enemies of the Invisible Empire to be destroyed?

He finds the answer in the Klan press. There he learns the value of secrecy, the power of the ballot box.

I close with part of an article written by Stanley Frost in his series that appeared in the Oklahoma Fiery Cross during the winter of 1924. If Mr. Frost's own admissions are not sufficient to arouse every true American to the menace of the Klan and to the absolute necessity of defeating every Klansman and Klan sympathizer at the polls in November, I give up the task. Mr. Frost said:

"Its (the Klan's) greatest advantage comes from its secrecy, and this is so tremendously effective that it is easy to see why it holds to secrecy in the face of all criticism. It more than doubles the chance that the Klan will accomplish the things it has set out to do.

"A study of the Klan at work shows at least seven different advantages which it gains in this way.

"First is the fact that it can strike in the dark. There is no warn-

ing before the blow falls, no certain knowledge of what is behind it. It is seldom possible to say for sure even that it was the Klan that acted; it is never possible to know what men are responsible. A blow so struck is doubly effective against the man hit; it is bewildering to the onlookers. In the second place the Klan by this means is able to claim all success and to deny any failure. If the blow lands it can take the credit, but if it misses it either is never known or, if known, the Klan can deny responsibility. The Klan can take credit for things which the community approves or fears, and deny blame for those which have not worked out to its advantage.

"A third great advantage of secrecy is the one mentioned by Dr. Evans, that it confuses the enemy. A man who is thinking of fighting the Klan does not know how great the force against him may be nor how to calculate his chances. It may have five members or five hundred, and all the instinct against jumping in the dark will make men keep peace with it if they can. The Klan might be beaten often if its foes kept their nerve, but very few men do keep their nerve against hard-hitting specters.

"The Klan's ability to get information is its fourth great advantage. The great advantage is that there is likely to be some Klansman who will get hold of the most carefully guarded secrets of any kind, and with them everywhere the higher Klan officials are able to run down whatever information they want, whether secret or not, with very little trouble. **THE FACT THAT THE MEMBERSHIP IS SECRET MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE TO GUARD AGAINST THIS.**

"All these things combine to give the fifth advantage—terror. It may not include fear of physical force, but it is none the less real. Men who would stand willingly against heavy odds are demoralized by a vague, unformed, unseen, intangible specter, armed with unknown weapons and unguessed knowledge and clothed with a reputation for ruthless power and uncaring success.

"**THE SIXTH ADVANTAGE IS THAT SECRECY PROTECTS INDIVIDUAL KLANSMEN AGAINST REPRISALS.** They cannot be located, therefore cannot be hurt. Any blow which is struck in return must be aimed at the Klan as a whole. And when such a blow is aimed, usually there is nothing there to take it. This is the final and greatest advantage of secrecy. It is almost impossible to hit back at the Klan except through **GENERAL LEGISLATION** and court action such as have been attempted so often—and so uselessly.

"The Klan practices espionage, a sort of mental terrorism, a secret propaganda, attack from ambush.

"**THE REALLY VITAL STRENGTH, THE TRUE HOPE OR MENACE, OF THE KU KLUX KLAN LIES IN POLITICS.** It is

there that it can produce the greatest effect, cause the most stunning impact on our lives, exert the deepest influence on the Nation. *Its social, economic and spiritual activities, its terrorism and boycottings and possible violence are important enough in all conscience and will make or break the lives of thousands,* BUT COMPARED TO WHAT IT MAY DO IN POLITICS THEY ARE TRIFLES. FOR THROUGH POLITICS THE KLAN MAY RULE AMERICA. This hope is no wild dream. In sober truth there is a very fair chance that the Klan may succeed. It will surely go far toward it, though just how far no one can ever guess till the smoke has blown away after the November elections. The Klan's political power is already large, for, as pointed out in the first article of this series, it has elected men of its choice to controlling places in six states, has dominated the elections in half a hundred congressional districts and has won complete victories in hundreds of towns, counties and small cities, to say nothing of throwing the whole political world into spasms.

"But this is only the beginning. At the coming election the Klan expects—not 'hopes' but confidently expects—to win more than twenty states, most of the local elections inside these states and hundreds outside, and considerable more than half the congressional districts. It even expects that the next President will be a man of whom it approves and who sympathizes with it.

"When the Klan does move in politics, that is, when it takes a hand in the selection of candidates or influencing officials, it brings to bear a pressure such as almost no other organization, even one of the great parties, can apply. All its organized unity, all its ability to strike suddenly and in the dark, all its secret information, and its terrorism, are even more effective here than in ordinary life, for politicians are by nature a very timid tribe. The Klan, too, can use not only this stunning political battle-ax, it can add to that the whole social and economic power. Political bosses, it is true, often use similar additional means of coercing candidates and officials, but few are ever able to do it with a tithe of the force, and none of them with the demoralizing terrorism that the Klan commands."

THE END

Price Single Copies 25 cents, postpaid.

In lots of 100 or more, 7 cents per copy, buyer to pay express.

Address: ALDRICH BLAKE

1417 W. 30th Street, Oklahoma City, Okla.